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ABSTRACT

Between 1978 and 1988, as district residence requirements were liberalized for California community college attendance, enrollments in the Los Angeles Community College District (LACCD) declined sharply. A study was conducted to track the interdistrict flow of students between 1981 and 1987 within the context of total enrollment changes since 1975. Study findings included the following: (1) the outflow of students from the LACCD increased from fall 1981 through fall 1987, but at a rate of only 2% between 1985 and 1987, compared to a 50% increase between 1981 and 1985; (2) 21,607 district residents attended non-LACCD colleges in 1981, 25,189 in 1983, 32,477 in 1985, and 33,221 in 1987; (3) the inflow of students to the LACCD remained fairly stable between 1981 and 1987, with 5,930 non-district residents enrolled in 1981, 6,063 in 1983, 5,080 in 1985, and 5,808 in 1987; (4) LACCD residents who attended community colleges outside of the district tended to be somewhat younger, and were more likely to be full-time, transfer-oriented students; (5) between 1981 and 1987, the ethnic distribution of outflow students moved much closer to that of the LACCD enrollees as a whole; (6) 26% of all LACCD residents attending any community college were enrolled outside of the district; (7) by the time of the study, several neighboring districts had become dependent on LACCD residents for the maintenance of their own enrollments, with neighboring colleges drawing from 58% to 20% of their students from the LACCD; and (8) the theoretical revenue losses to the LACCD resulting from large outflow imbalances were estimated at $45 million in 1987-88. Eight figures and eight data tables supplement the text. (VVC)

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INTERDISTRICT STUDENT FLOW:

LOS ANGELES AND NEIGHBORING

COMMUNITY COLLEGE DISTRICTS

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Educational Services Division

Los Angeles Community College District

June 1989

JC 890 469

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Preface

An abbreviated form of this report was presented to the Los Angeles Community College District Board of Trustees on June 28, 1989. This presentation included slides of the figures in the report; these are available to District staff upon request. A copy of the abridged text used for the presentation is also available. Contact the Office of Research, Planning and Analysis (RPA), 213-891-2056.

Acknowledgments

Dr. George Prather, RPA Research Analyst, generated the data and the initial charts, and conducted the overall analysis. Other RPA staff assisting with the project were Kit Fong Lai, Research Analyst, who helped prepare the graphics; Nancy Conrath, Director, who designed the Board presentation and oversaw this publication; and Dexter Kelly, Staff Assistant, who prepared the text for publication. Vice Chancellor James Heinselman advised staff on the project and made the Board presentation.

INTERDISTRICT STUDENT FLOW:

LOS ANGELES AND NEIGHBORING COLLEGE DISTRICTS

Synopsis

The liberalization of district residence requirements for community college students has coincided with a sharp decline in enrollment in the colleges of the Los Angeles Community College District. Because of this decline, the exchange of students between Los Angeles and its surrounding districts has been a subject of substantial concern. The present report carries the tracking of interdistrict flow through the Fall 1987 semester. It also sets this flow in the context of total enrollment changes since 1975 for both the Los Angeles Community Colleges and the adjacent districts.

In brief, this report shows that:

- **The outflow of students from the Los Angeles District has continued to grow through the Fall 1987 semester but at a lesser overall rate of increase. The flow to Santa Monica College has been contained, but the enrollment of Los Angeles residents in districts on the east side of Los Angeles county has become more substantial.**

- **The characteristics of Los Angeles residents who attend community colleges outside of the District have changed over the period since 1981. Though outflow students continue to be somewhat younger and thus more likey to be full-time and transfer oriented, their ethnic characteristics have come to more closely resemble those who remain in the District's institutions.**

- **Under free flow, when students are permitted to enroll in any community college without regard to district boundaries, some District college service areas have provided a "reservoir" of students for other districts on their borders. The outflow has enabled these neighboring districts to maintain their enrollment or to moderate growth or loss, while enrollment in the Los Angeles District colleges has fluctuated more widely. During the recent 1981-1985 areawide enrollment decline, bordering districts fared much better than the LACCD.**

- **With free flow likely to continue as policy, Los Angeles colleges will need to make additional efforts to sucessfully compete for students, and to attract and retain students with heretofore unmet educational needs.**

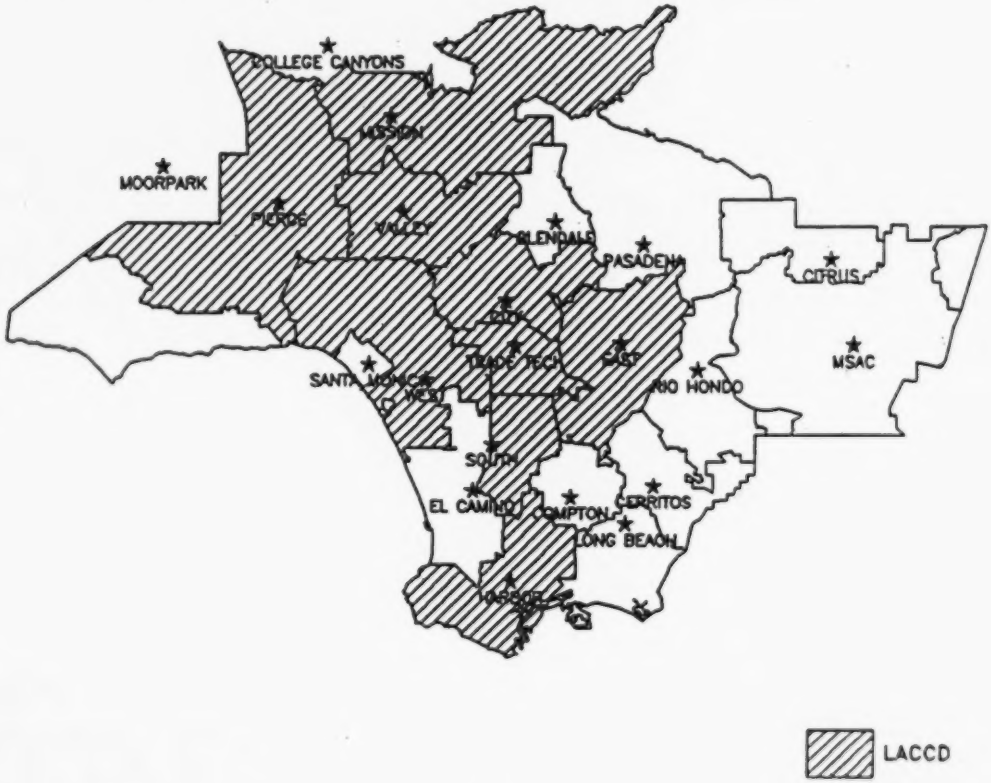
History

In general terms, state policy since the passage of Proposition 13 in 1978 has been to encourage the free flow of students among community college districts regardless of residence. In 1979, the Board of Governors approved a three-year pilot program, to begin in 1981, which liberalized interdistrict flow but also allowed a district experiencing a 10% or greater enrollment loss to restrict the outflow of students. Also beginning in 1981, the Santa Monica District was permitted by state law to enroll up to 5,000 ADA from the Los Angeles District without restriction or reimbursement.

Interdistrict agreements requiring permits for cross-district enrollment were maintained between the Los Angeles District and most of the surrounding districts through the 1982-83 academic year. Summer and part-time enrollment was generally exempt from the permit process. Except in the case of the Santa Monica District, all restrictions on free flow were lifted beginning with the Fall 1983 semester and continuing through Fall 1984. For Santa Monica, free flow up to the 5,000 ADA limit continued through the 1985-86 academic year. The permit process was reimposed through July 1, 1988 for all districts except Santa Monica. A cap on the number of Los Angeles residents enrolled at Santa Monica College and other procedures to limit the outflow continued to remain in effect until July 1, 1989.

Because of the impact of outflow on the enrollment of the Los Angeles Community Colleges, a special system has been set up to track the attendance of LACCD residents in the districts of Cerritos, Compton, El Camino, Glendale, Long Beach, Pasadena, Rio Hondo, Santa Clarita and Ventura. Map 1 shows the geographic locations of Los Angeles and neighboring colleges.

MAP 1: COMMUNITY COLLEGES WITHIN THE GREATER LOS ANGELES AREA



Census Student Data tapes have been obtained for these districts from the state Chancellor's Office for each semester since Fall 1981, and the characteristics of LACCD residents attending these other schools have been examined.

Previous analyses of this interdistrict flow have been made in several reports prepared between 1984 and 1986 and covering the period through the 1986 spring semester.[1] These reports documented a significant increase in the number of Los Angeles District residents attending surrounding colleges with the advent of free flow. They also called attention to the ethnic imbalance of outflow, characterizing it as one of moderate white flight. The present study is the first to begin the analysis with the period prior to free flow, and to carry it through to the most recent years.

Changes in Interdistrict Flow

From the shorter perspective of earlier reports, it appeared that the outflow of Los Angeles District residents to neighboring districts was growing at a completely unrestrained rate. These reports revealed an outflow of 30,538 in Fall 1984 and 32,477 in Fall 1985.

As shown in the left-hand bar of each section of Figure 1 and in the last column of Table 1, a rapid rise in outflow did occur between 1981 and 1985. But since that year, the increase in the number of outflow students has been minor. Indeed, the increase in the total number of Los Angeles District residents attending in other districts between 1985 and 1987 was only 2%, compared to a 50% gain between 1981 and 1985.

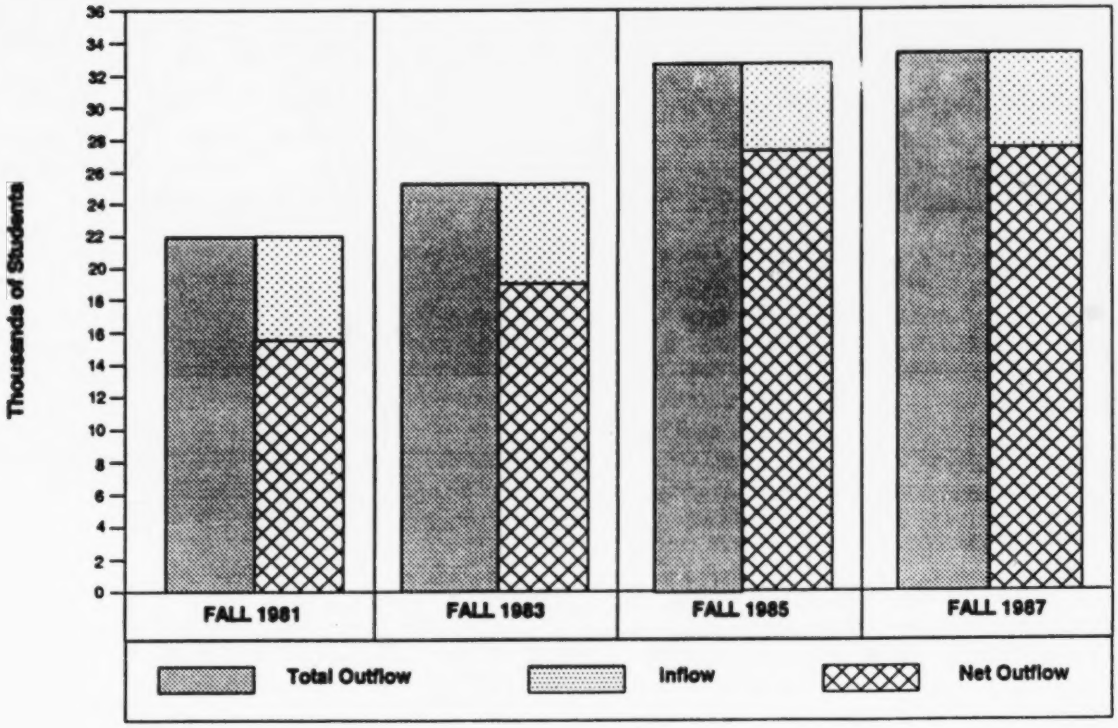
TABLE 1: OUTFLOW OF LOS ANGELES DISTRICT RESIDENTS TO NEIGHBORING DISTRICTS FALL 1981- FALL 1987

Fall Semester	Santa Monica	El Camino	Pasadena	Glendale	Rio Hondo	Ventura	Cerritos	Compton	Long Beach	Santa Clarita	Total Surrounding Districts
1981	10,149	3,829	2,168	2,747	386	252	947	108	645	376	21,607
1983	10,677	4,818	2,627	3,354	653	502	1,051	300	667	540	25,189
1985	13,205	6,562	4,179	4,060	1,277	815	1,149	418	288	524	32,477
1987	10,711	6,844	5,405	4,857	1,609	1,118	980	716	517	464	33,221

Source: State Chancellor's Census Student Data System tapes, 1981-1987. El Camino did not report in 1981. The figure shown assumes that Los Angeles residents were the same proportion of total El Camino students in 1981 as they were in 1983.

1 Jeanne T. Landis,"Interdistrict Flow Comparisons of Enrollment and ADA, Los Angeles Community College and Adjacent College Districts,Spring 1984 through Fall 1985", Office of Research and Planning, Educational Services Division, July 1986; "A Preliminary Review of Student Migration Patterns in the Los Angeles Area", Office of Research and Planning, September 1984; "Comparison of Population Descriptors, Enrollment Patterns and Participation Rates in Glendale, The Areas of Eagle Rock, Highland Park, and Glassell Park, and Adjacent Communities", Office of Research and Planning, December 1984; and "Interdistrict Agreements: A Los Angeles Community College Options Paper", Office of Enrollment Management, Educational Research and Developement Division, December 1986. Leonard Isaksen, on special assignment from West Los Angeles College in the summer of 1988, contributed to the initial organization of this present report.

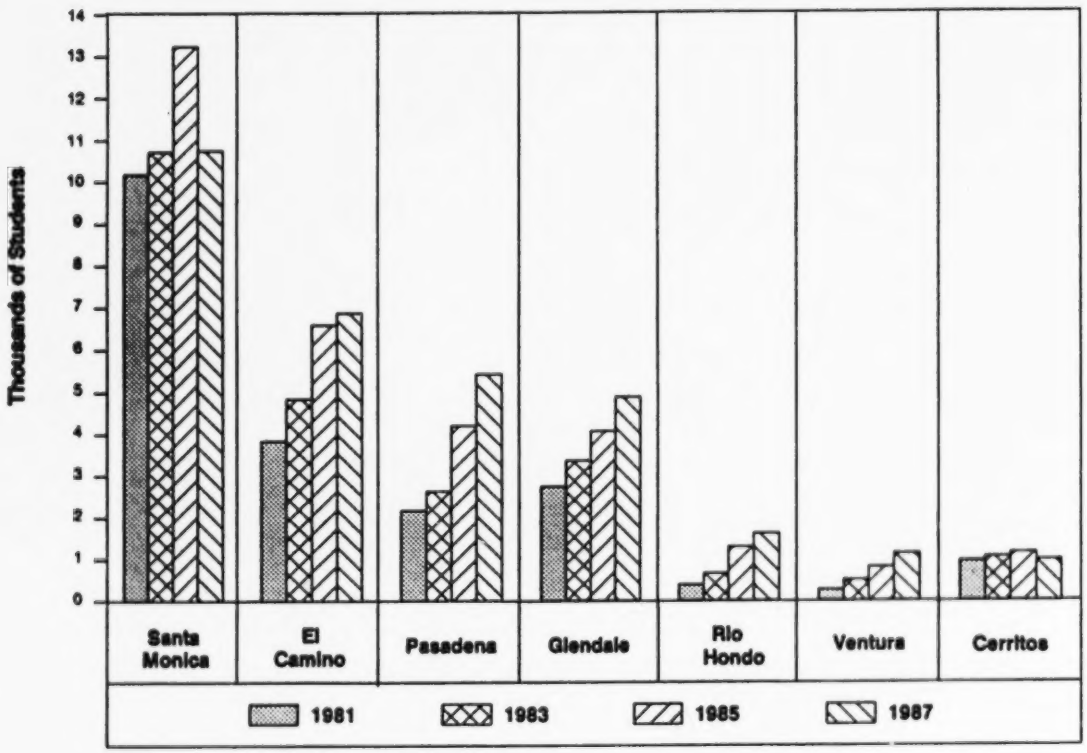
FIGURE 1: INTERDISTRICT STUDENT FLOW, LOS ANGELES AND NEIGHBORING DISTRICTS



The inflow of students to the Los Angeles District is also shown in Figure 1. This number has changed little over the years. In Fall 1981, 5,930 residents of the neighboring districts enrolled in the Los Angeles Colleges. In 1983 the figure was 6,063; in 1985 this number had fallen to 5,080, but by Fall 1987 it had risen again to 5,808.

Four districts accounted for over 80% of the LACCD student outflow in Fall 1987: Santa Monica, El Camino, Pasadena and Glendale. The flow of students to Rio Hondo and the Ventura colleges has grown considerably since 1981, but still remains at a relatively low level compared to the first four schools. Changes in outflow for the seven districts which have ever enrolled more than 1,000 LACCD residents are shown graphically in Figure 2.

FIGURE 2: CHANGE IN LACCD RESIDENTS ENROLLED IN SELECTED NEIGHBORING DISTRICTS



Santa Monica alone now accounts for almost a third of LACCD outflow. However, in 1981, almost one half of the Los Angeles Districts residents attending in another district were enrolled in Santa Monica College. This flow reached a peak in 1985 at over 13,000 students, but by Fall 1987 it had returned to pre-1985 levels with the instigation of a new agreement between the LACCD and the Santa Monica District.

Outflow to El Camino, Pasadena and Glendale has continued to grow since 1985, though at a more moderate rate. El Camino enrolled over 6,800 Los Angeles District residents in Fall 1987. Pasadena City College was the destination of another 5,400 LACCD residents, and Glendale enrolled over 4,800 of the Los Angeles District's inhabitants.

El Camino is the only district which sends a significant number of its residents in the reverse direction. Table 2 presents a detailed tabulation of the residence of all students attending the Los Angeles Community Colleges. Almost 2,000 El Camino residents attended LACCD institutions in Fall 1987, with 712 at West, 445 at Southwest, 399 at Habor and 291 at Trade-Tech. But the nine-college total was still less than one third the number of Los Angeles residents attending El Camino. Of the remaining districts, though the numbers involved are significantly lower in all cases, only Santa Clarita and Ventura maintain a rough parity between the import and export of students.

TABLE 2: RESIDENCE OF INFLOW STUDENTS BY DISTRICT COLLEGE OF ATTENDANCE, FALL 1987

District of Origin (from)	College of Attendance (to)									
	City	East	Harbor	Mission	Pierce	South-west	Trade-Tech	Valley	West	District
Santa Monica	17	2	1	5	57	1	51	13	135	282
El Camino	59	19	399	7	22	445	291	7	712	1,961
Glendale	131	29	4	22	60	1	147	185	3	582
Pasadena	35	159	3	10	18	8	161	21	13	428
Cerritos	15	42	17	2	4	5	62	0	7	154
Rio Hondo	14	190	1	1	0	2	200	2	4	414
Long Beach	8	25	178	2	1	17	64	3	13	311
Santa Clarita	6	5	0	114	148	1	27	172	3	476
Ventura	14	1	1	35	730	0	38	75	13	907
Compton	8	30	54	3	1	77	108	0	12	293
Total, Surrounding Districts	307	502	658	201	1,041	557	1,149	478	915	5,808
Other Calif.	188	314	74	40	182	36	559	194	65	1,652
Out of State	9	32	2	0	48	14	3	20	9	137
Foreign Country	676	211	79	10	343	19	108	278	168	1,892
Total	1,180	1,059	813	251	1,614	626	1,819	970	1,157	9,489
% of College Enrollment	8.3%	8.5%	9.5%	4.9%	8.8%	13.5%	15.2%	5.3%	13.3%	9.3%

Source: Census Student Data Tape, Fall 1987.

Of particular significance for management of the interdistrict flow issue is the extent to which several of the neighboring districts have become dependent on Los Angeles District residents for the maintenance of their own enrollment. This is shown graphically in Figure 3. In 1985, 13,205 Santa Monica students, 65% of the college's enrollment, were residents of the Los Angeles District. By 1987 this number had declined to 10,711 but still constituted 58% of all Santa Monica enrollment. In the Glendale district, Los Angeles residents have grown to 40% of all students, and 26% of students in both the El Camino and Pasadena districts, are now from the Los Angeles District.

Looked at from the opposite perspective, 26% of all Los Angeles District residents attending any community college in 1987 were enrolled outside of the District. In 1985 this figure had been as high as 29%, up from less than 15% in 1981. This change is pictured in Figure 4. Again, inflow from the neighboring districts has not significantly offset this outflow.

FIGURE 3: CHANGE IN THE SHARE OF LACCD AND OTHER RESIDENTS ENROLLING IN NEIGHBORING DISTRICTS

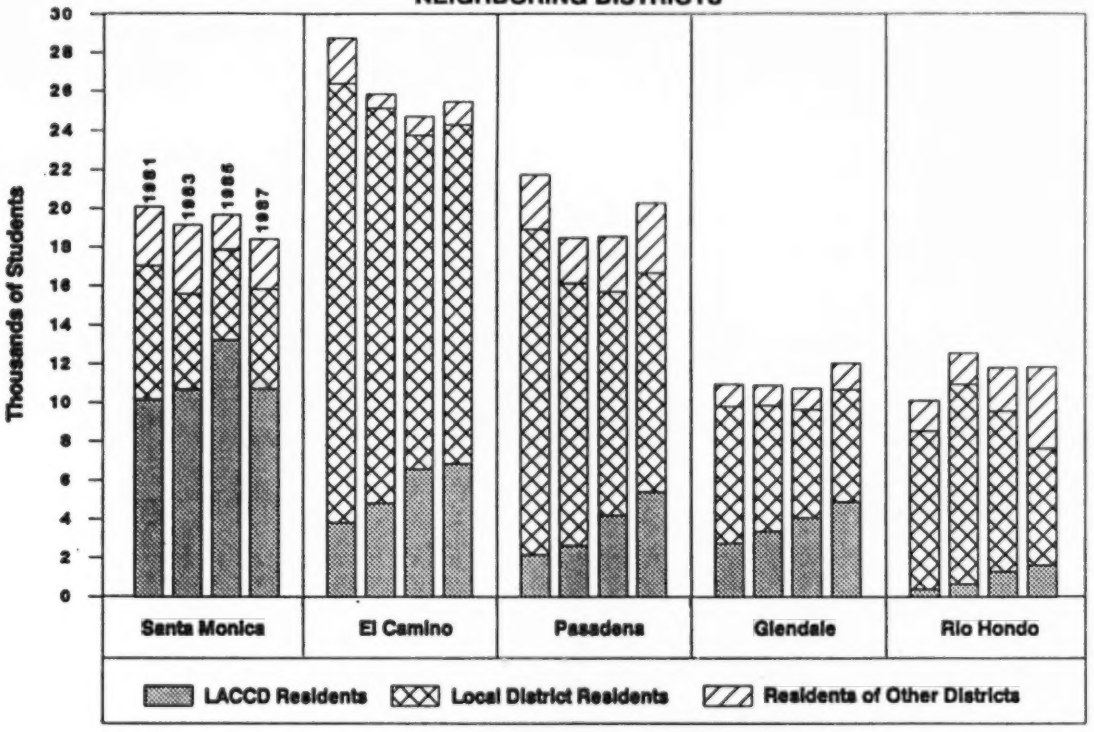
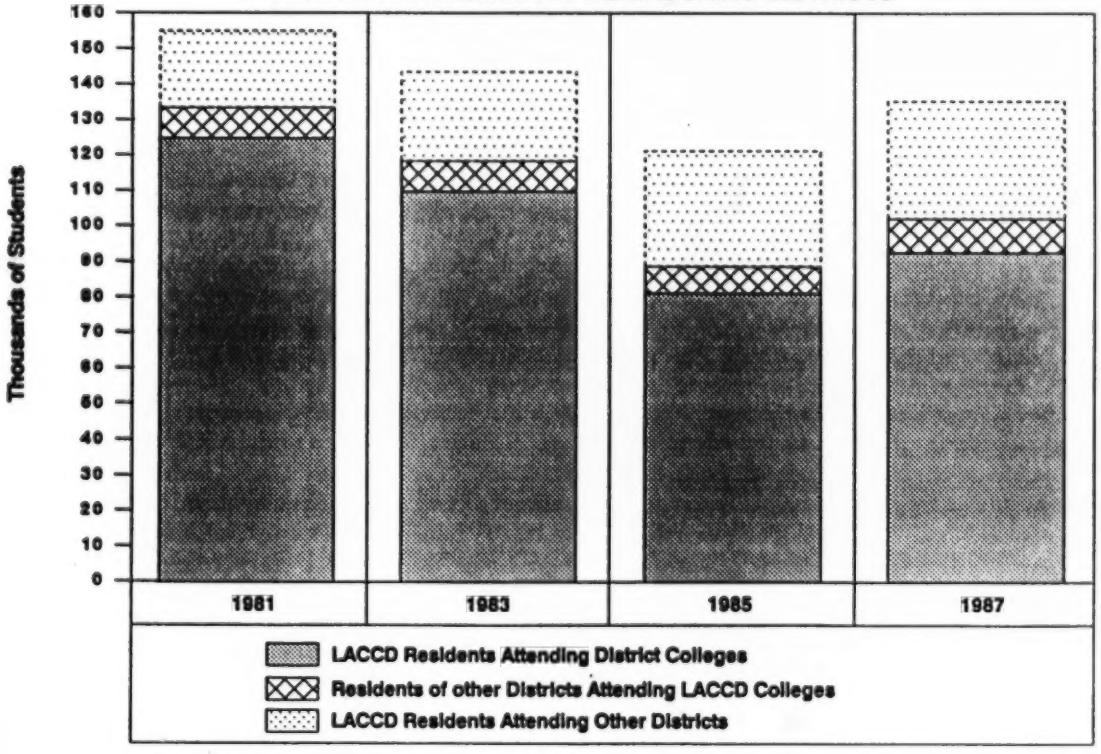


FIGURE 4: CHANGE IN LACCD RESIDENT AND INFLOW ENROLLMENT COMPARED TO OUTFLOW ENROLLMENT IN NEIGHBORING DISTRICTS



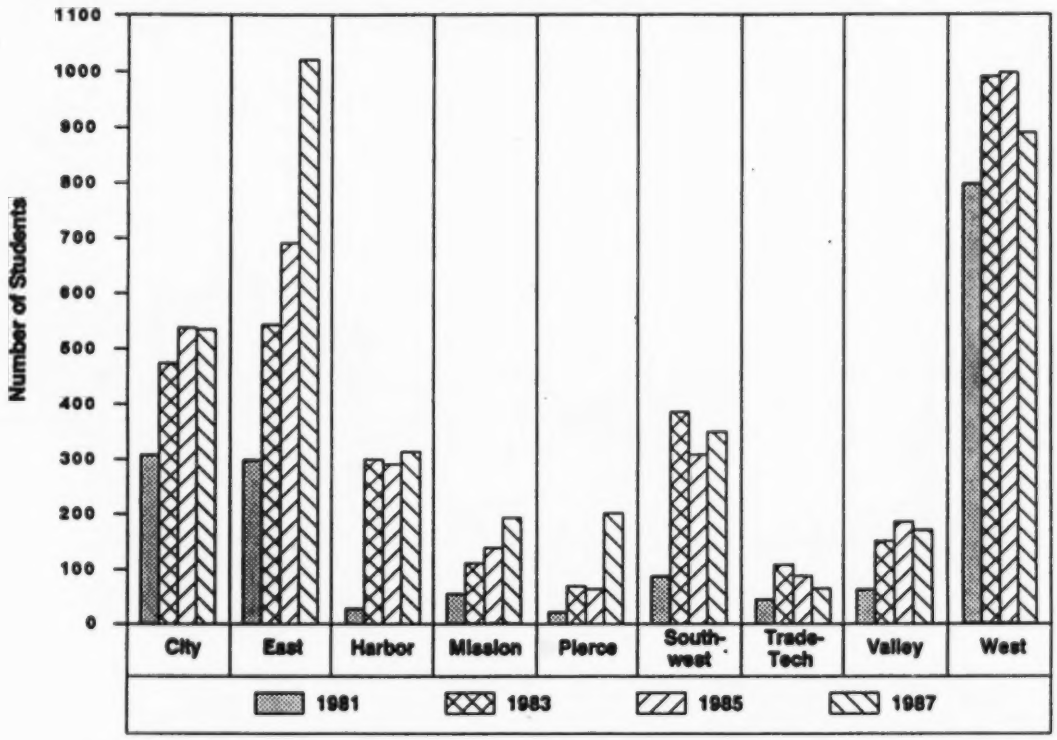
Region of Origin Within the Los Angeles District

Los Angeles residents attending neighboring colleges come from all regions of the District and the outflow seems to have increased in almost all regions. But at present, it is primarily a problem of the eastern and western portions of the District.

The Census Student Data files of the state Chancellor's Office do not carry zipcode information. Therefore, it is not possible to determine the region of origin for all Los Angeles residents attending in other districts. Most recent high school graduates, however, can be geographically placed by the high school which they attended, information which is contained on the Chancellor's Office files.

Figure 5 is based on this approach. First-time students who are under 20 years of age have been assigned to the service area of one of the Los Angeles Colleges by the location of their high school. Slightly less than 90% of Los Angeles outflow students under 20 can be placed in this manner, but it should be kept in mind that the numbers shown in Figure 5 represent only about 10% of all Los Angeles outflow students.

FIGURE 5: CHANGE IN OUTFLOW OF ENTERING STUDENTS UNDER 20 YEARS BY HIGH SCHOOL ATTENDED WITHIN LACCD COLLEGE SERVICE AREAS



What Figure 5 suggests is that over the period examined in this study, substantially more outflow students have come from the service area of West Los Angeles College than from any other region of the District. However, in 1987, where the numbers from the West service area had declined somewhat, outflow from the service area of East Los Angeles College increased very significantly. In the remaining service areas, outflow appears to be much more stable or of minor magnitude, though this picture might be altered if the region of origin of outflow students of all ages were known.

Institutional locations and trasportation routes obviously play a large role in determining whether residents attend within or outside the District. Portions of the West Los Angeles service area, for example, are isolated from the rest of the District by Santa Monica. The 1981 figures would indicate that residents of these areas consider Santa Monica College to be their local school.

At the same time, the change that has taken place in the origins of outflow students would suggest that non-geographical factors have been at work as well. An examination of the characteristics of outflow students as compared with those residents who attend District colleges reveals some of these factors.

Characteristics of Outflow Students

Previous reports have documented that outflow students have been younger, more likely to be pursuing a transfer program, and less likely to be Hispanic or black than LACCD enrollment as a whole. At the same time, there have been higher proportions of Hispanics and blacks among these outflow students than among the "native" students of the districts to which they have gone. Thus, outflow made some of the LACCD colleges more ethnically imbalanced, but at the same time it improved the ethnic balance in most of the receiving schools.

The younger age of students leaving the Los Angeles District for the surrounding colleges has continued to hold true through Fall 1987, as can be seen in Table 3. The proportion of outflow students who are under 20 has fluctuated slightly between 25% and 30%, while the same group has been an almost constant 20% of District enrollees.

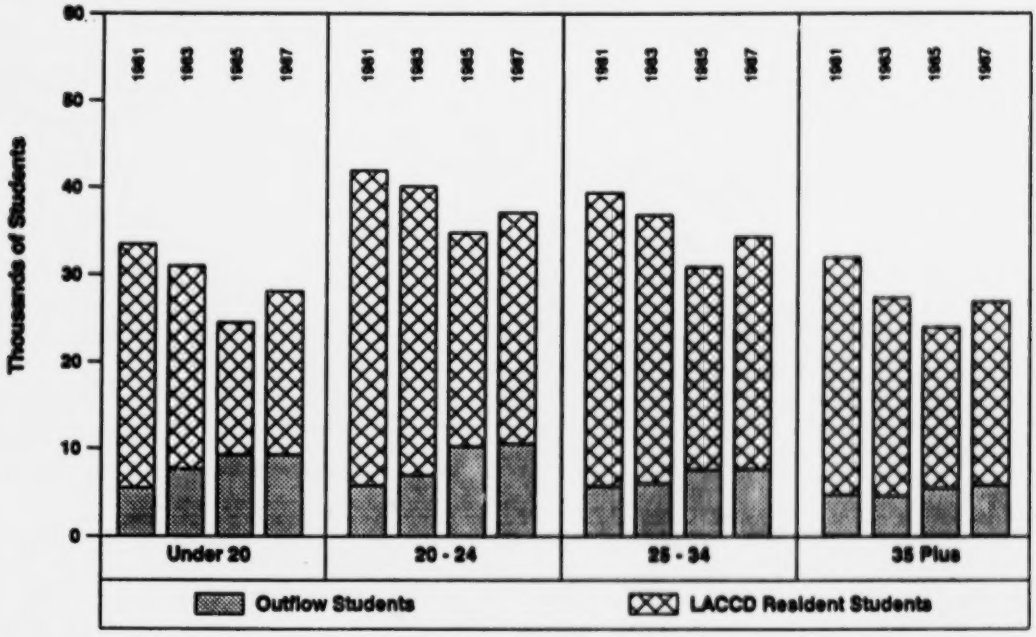
TABLE 3: PERCENT OF ENROLLMENT BY AGE GROUP, FALL 1981 - FALL 1987 LACCD RESIDENTS ENROLLED IN SURROUNDING COLLEGES AND THE DISTRICT

	Santa Monica	El Camino	Glendale	Pasadena	Cerritos	Rio Hondo	Long Beach	Santa Clarita	Ventura	Compton	Total Outflow	LACCD Colleges
Under 20												
1981	24.9	31.5	23.6	21.5	23.1	21.2	8.2	48.8	24.6	23.1	25.3	22.4
1983	28.9	31.5	27.6	32.3	29.6	32.9	24.7	51.5	40.5	22.7	30.2	21.2
1985	25.0	31.0	26.6	34.4	27.0	32.2	17.4	42.7	43.5	15.8	28.5	19.0
1987	27.2	25.5	25.8	33.9	18.6	34.2	13.7	23.5	43.1	14.0	27.8	20.2
20 - 24												
1981	28.7	24.8	25.6	23.8	27.8	28.8	23.1	26.7	22.2	13.9	26.7	29.0
1983	28.9	24.8	28.4	27.4	28.8	27.0	22.4	31.9	29.9	20.7	27.7	30.2
1985	31.3	31.3	29.4	34.0	33.9	38.1	22.9	37.0	27.4	26.3	31.6	30.0
1987	31.6	31.4	30.0	35.5	31.8	36.2	21.7	43.8	30.3	20.3	31.9	28.5
25 - 34												
1981	26.1	25.2	26.2	29.2	27.1	29.8	34.4	14.1	25.4	33.3	26.5	26.9
1983	24.5	25.2	24.1	22.7	26.4	25.0	26.8	9.1	14.4	25.0	24.0	28.0
1985	26.0	22.4	22.8	20.3	23.3	20.0	31.3	13.4	13.9	27.3	23.4	29.0
1987	24.2	25.7	23.6	19.2	27.7	16.9	29.8	23.1	12.1	27.9	23.1	28.6
35 Plus												
1981	20.3	18.5	24.6	25.6	22.0	20.2	34.3	10.4	27.8	29.6	21.5	21.8
1983	17.6	18.5	20.0	17.6	15.2	15.2	26.2	7.6	15.2	31.7	18.1	20.6
1985	17.7	15.3	21.2	11.3	15.8	9.8	28.5	6.9	15.2	30.6	16.5	22.0
1987	17.0	17.4	20.6	11.4	21.9	12.7	34.8	9.7	14.5	37.7	17.2	22.7

Source: State Chancellor's Census Student Data System tapes, 1981-1987.

Figure 6 tracks the size of each of these age groups among both outflow and LACCD resident students. Translated into proportions, it reveals that 33% of the under 20 age group attend community colleges outside of the District while this proportion declines to 21% for those 35 and over.

FIGURE 6: CHANGE IN AGE OF OUTFLOW AND LACCD RESIDENT STUDENTS



The ethnic distribution of outflow students has moved much closer to that of Los Angeles District enrollees as a whole, as demonstrated by Table 4. Both Asians and Hispanics have increased and whites have declined as proportions of Los Angeles District residents attending other districts. The percentage of blacks among outflow students has remained relatively stable while their proportion among LACCD enrollees has declined to a fairly comparable level. Thus the ethnic imbalance of the outflow continues, but it is now considerably less significant.

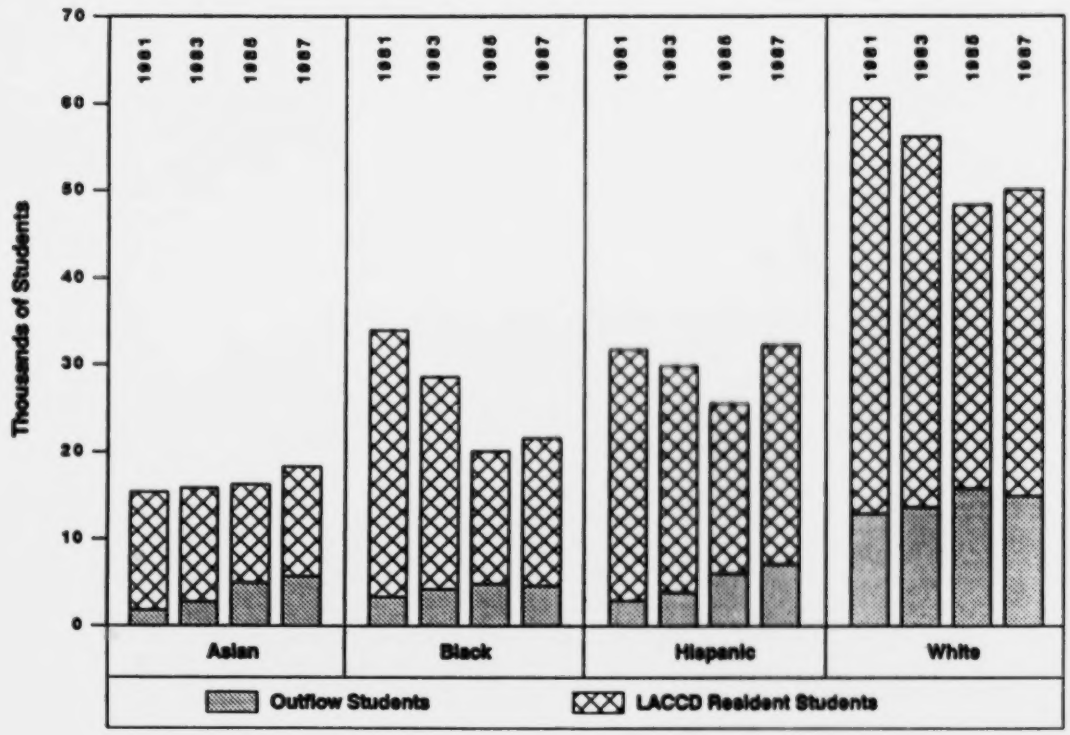
Figure 7 reports the size of each ethnic group among both outflow students and those residents who remain on District campuses. In proportions, approximately 30% of Asians and whites attending community colleges did so outside of the District. For blacks and Hispanics, this proportion was 22%.

TABLE 4: PERCENT OF ENROLLMENT BY ETHNIC GROUP, FALL 1981 - FALL 1987 LACCD RESIDENTS ENROLLED IN NEIGHBORING COLLEGES AND THE DISTRICT

	Santa Monica	El Camino	Glendale	Pasadena	Cerritos	Rio Hondo	Long Beach	Santa Clarita	Ventura	Compton	Total Outflow	LACCD Colleges
Asian												
1981	5.9	16.8	9.4	6.8	3.7	5.7	10.1	2.1	0.8	1.9	8.2	11.6
1983	6.6	16.8	14.5	18.7	5.9	12.0	12.4	1.5	1.2	0.7	10.8	12.0
1985	11.9	19.0	14.3	30.1	6.5	13.3	10.6	3.1	4.5	2.0	15.4	13.8
1987	12.5	20.5	15.4	34.2	7.1	11.8	13.5	5.0	3.4	1.7	17.3	13.5
Black												
1981	13.1	38.4	1.1	4.3	10.0	1.8	29.2	6.6	3.2	78.5	15.4	26.9
1983	14.1	38.4	2.4	4.5	11.3	3.0	32.2	3.7	5.4	82.1	16.7	23.0
1985	12.8	36.0	2.4	3.1	12.6	0.9	21.1	4.8	2.2	72.0	14.9	18.9
1987	13.1	33.8	2.2	2.9	8.1	1.5	17.6	2.4	3.0	61.6	14.0	18.3
Hispanic												
1981	7.1	9.6	23.1	26.0	39.5	49.5	13.2	5.1	4.8	8.4	13.8	19.9
1983	8.2	9.6	23.0	28.8	45.2	54.8	18.8	7.8	5.8	7.9	15.6	23.8
1985	11.0	11.9	25.0	30.6	47.0	63.5	18.5	9.7	4.5	17.7	18.8	23.8
1987	11.2	13.2	26.1	32.3	52.7	69.7	19.6	12.9	6.3	25.0	21.6	27.2
White												
1981	72.7	33.3	61.2	59.0	41.5	40.2	42.6	82.7	86.1	11.2	60.0	38.4
1983	69.7	33.3	54.5	44.6	34.0	25.0	33.7	85.7	82.5	5.8	54.3	37.8
1985	63.2	31.9	53.5	33.2	28.1	19.2	46.4	80.5	82.8	4.9	48.7	39.9
1987	62.0	31.3	52.5	27.7	27.5	15.9	45.8	78.2	82.8	9.7	45.0	37.8

Source: State Chancellor's Census Student Data System tapes, 1981-1987.

FIGURE 7: CHANGE IN ETHNICITY OF OUTFLOW AND LACCD RESIDENT STUDENTS



Outflow students also continue to be more likely to be planning to transfer to a four-year school, as seen in Table 5. Any trend is impossible to see because the data prior to 1985 are unreliable, but the differences between outflow students and those who remain is clear.

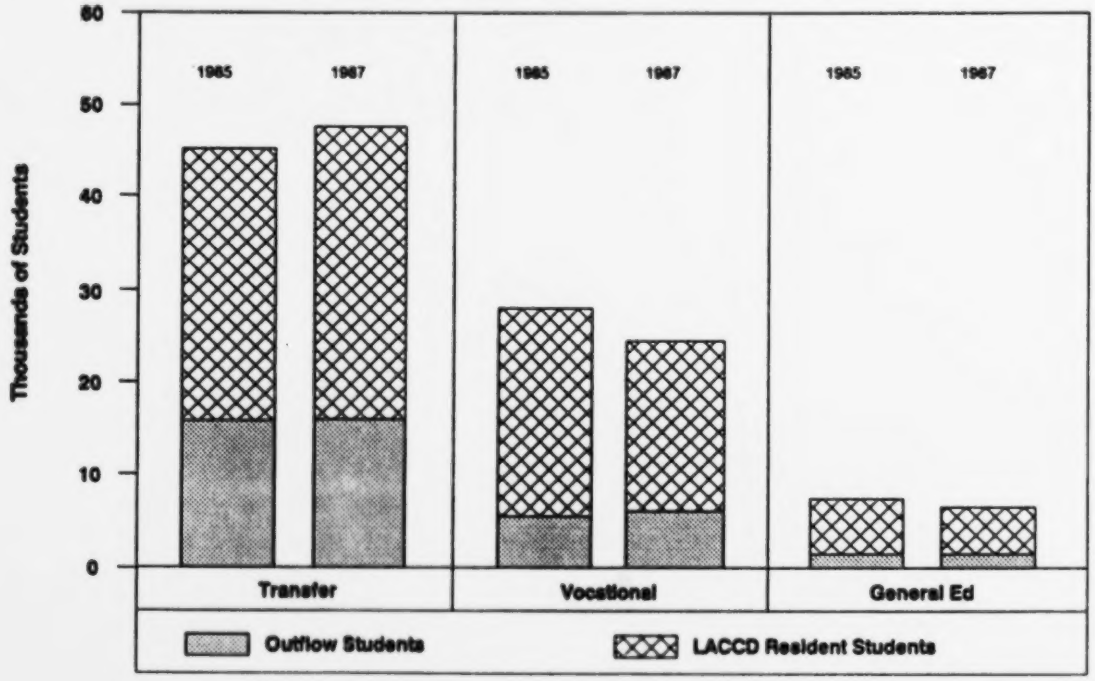
TABLE 6: PERCENT OF ENROLLMENT BY EDUCATIONAL GOAL, FALL 1985 - FALL 1987 LACCD RESIDENTS ENROLLED IN NEIGHBORING COLLEGES AND THE DISTRICT

	Santa Monica	El Camino	Glendale	Pasadena	Cerritos	Rio Hondo	Long Beach	Santa Clarita	Ventura	Compton	Total Outflow	LACCD Colleges
Transfer												
1985	80.8	66.4	61.0	72.5	35.9	57.6	37.8	27.1	59.7	50.2	68.9	50.4
1987	72.1	67.3	57.2	73.4	28.7	61.0	42.9	20.5	85.0	32.4	64.4	54.0
Vocational												
1985	14.8	28.6	21.3	25.7	57.4	34.2	57.2	72.9	24.7	47.9	24.5	39.3
1987	21.1	28.3	30.2	26.2	64.5	34.7	44.1	79.5	8.6	59.1	29.4	37.3
General Education												
1985	4.3	5.1	17.8	1.8	6.7	8.2	5.0	0.0	15.6	1.9	6.7	10.4
1987	6.8	4.4	12.6	0.4	6.8	4.2	13.0	0.0	6.4	8.6	6.2	8.7

Source State Chancellor's Census Student Data System tapes, 1981-1987. Educational goal data is not available for 1981 and is of questionable validity for 1983.

This pattern is seen again in Figure 8. Of the roughly 48,000 transfer oriented students from the Los Angeles District in 1987, 30% attended school in neighboring colleges. Only around 21% of the vocational and general education students went outside the District.

FIGURE 8: CHANGE IN EDUCATIONAL GOALS OF OUTFLOW AND LACCD RESIDENT STUDENTS



In part this difference is because of the younger age of the outflow students. Younger students are more likely to have a transfer goal. They are also much more likely to be enrolled for a full load, a fact which compounds the revenue loss to the Los Angeles District. At the same time, the the District is left with a more expensive student body to educate because of the generally greater cost of vocational programs and the need to provide more remedial or basic skills programing for these students.

The "Reservoir" Phenomenon

To a considerable extent, the major recipient districts of LACCD outflow students have been able to stabilize their enrollment by drawing from the "reservoir" of potential students residing within the LACCD. This phenomenon may be observed in several aspects: general enrollment trends, demographics, and comparisons between sending and receiving service areas and institutions.

The ability to stabilize enrollment has been particularly important to community colleges ever since caps on state funding for enrollment growth have been used to limit overall expenditures and to avoid unanticipated costs. Since the cap is based on the previous year's enrollment, districts want to gain all allowable enrollment if possible, or at least not lose enrollment which would lower their base for subsequent caps on growth.

TABLE 6: ENROLLMENT IN LOS ANGELES AREA COMMUNITY COLLEGE DISTRICT
TOTAL CREDIT ENROLLMENT, FALL 1975 - FALL 1987

	Santa Monica	El Camino	Glendale	Pasadena	Cerritos	Rio Hondo	Long Beach	Santa Clarita	Ventura	Compton	Subtotal	LACCD Colleges
1975	17,814	26,597	8,500	20,130	14,782	27,765	22,348	7,246	26,558	3,324	175,064	134,472
1976	16,682	25,972	8,500	19,983	12,751	25,545	22,196	6,652	25,848	3,140	167,269	123,154
1977	19,039	25,419	8,455	19,509	12,839	25,880	21,092	6,525	26,492	3,126	168,376	127,757
1978	17,832	26,105	7,715	18,460	11,847	25,451	20,523	5,276	27,353	2,530	163,092	122,725
1979	17,456	25,880	8,960	18,540	10,961	26,278	21,226	5,815	26,203	3,464	164,783	129,190
1980	18,775	27,315	9,954	20,153	11,521	28,165	21,852	5,950	27,322	3,823	174,828	132,475
1981	20,094	28,750	10,947	21,766	12,081	30,051	22,477	6,084	28,441	4,182	184,873	137,533
1982	20,016	29,597	11,535	19,639	11,850	29,258	22,877	4,564	24,154	3,487	176,977	134,737
1983	19,156	25,404	10,882	18,299	12,547	26,592	19,631	4,530	22,406	3,640	163,087	118,538
1984	18,932	24,938	10,640	18,218	10,872	25,265	18,497	3,489	21,950	3,527	156,328	101,300
1985	19,680	24,703	10,724	18,544	11,807	25,629	17,641	3,702	21,493	3,630	157,553	91,779
1986	17,831	25,753	11,302	20,120	12,357	26,494	18,285	4,366	20,939	3,579	161,026	102,533
1987	18,383	25,487	12,042	20,268	12,959	27,424	18,174	4,452	20,578	4,548	164,315	102,209
Peak Enrollment Year												
	1981	1982	1987	1981	1975	1981	1982	1975	1981	1987	1981	1981
1987 as Proportion of Peak Enrollment												
	91.5%	86.1%	100.0%	93.1%	87.7%	91.3%	79.4%	61.4%	72.4%	100.0%	88.9%	74.3%

Sources: Department of Finance, Total and Full-time Enrollment, California Institutions of Higher Education, 1975-1987; and Los Angeles Community College District, Office of Research, Planning and Analysis, 1987-88 Updates, College Annual Reports.

Table 6 shows enrollment patterns for neighboring districts and the LACCD. In general, patterns follow state trends, with high 1975 enrollment levels dropping with the initial cap on enrollment growth in 1976, and again after the passage of Proposition 13 in 1978, then rising to a new peak for the area and the state in 1981. By Fall 1985, however, enrollment had fallen to new lows, with a 23% drop for the area and an 18% decline statewide. Reasons for this slump were both fiscal and demographic, with first-time

enrollment fees, fiscal uncertainty and underfunding, compounded by the end of the baby boom cohort and an increasing proportion of minorities with lower college participation rates than has been usual for whites.

The greater decline for the area than for the state principally reflects the very sharp enrollment drop in the LACCD, at 33% from Fall 1981 to Fall 1985, compared to 15% for all other area districts. And as Table 6 indicates, the subtotal of these neighboring districts in Fall 1987 was 89% of the 1981 peak, compared to 74% for the Los Angeles District. This difference is due in large part to the continuing increase in outflow from LACCD service areas, as discussed above.

Table 7 pulls together some of the factors which contribute to the "reservoir" phenomenon. In this table, college service areas which receive outflow students are compared to those who send them, so that Santa Monica, a recipient, is paired with West Los Angeles, a sender; El Camino is paired with Harbor and Southwest; Glendale with City and Pasadena with East. Only the four largest receiving districts are included, and just five of the nine LACCD colleges. It is among these nine college service areas that student interdistrict flow is most pronounced, as the five LACCD areas serve as major sources of students for the neighboring districts that border them.

TABLE 7: COMPARISONS OF DEMOGRAPHIC AND ENROLLMENT CHARACTERISTICS BETWEEN MAJOR RECIPIENT NEIGHBORING DISTRICTS AND CORRESPONDING LACCD SERVICE AREAS WITH MAJOR OUTFLOW DRAIN

Districts/ LACCD Service Areas/Colleges	1980 Census Service Area Population	1990 Proj. Service Area Population	'80-'90 % Change	Fall 1981 Enrollment	Fall 1985 Enrollment	'81-'85 % Change	% 1980 Census Pop. Under 18	% 1980 Census Pop. White
Santa Monica	91051	97594	7.2	20094	19680	-2.1	15.8	78.1
WLAC	565194	613514	8.5	11085	6436	-41.9	19.3	45.6
El Camino	476424	496254	4.2	28750	24703	-14.1	24.7	62.2
LAHC	371330	394096	6.1	12541	7763	-38.1	30.8	52.9
LASC	363895	378161	3.9	8049	3064	-61.9	34.8	9.4
Glendale	156130	167622	7.4	10947	10724	-2.0	17.1	61.9
LACC	562671	613700	9.1	20492	13743	-32.9	19.3	50.5
Pasadena	223921	231766	3.5	21766	18544	-14.8	26.5	61.1
ELAC	782531	834726	6.7	17772	11709	-34.1	32.9	23.9
Subtotal, Other	947526	993236	4.8	81557	73651	-9.7	22.8	63.4
Subtotal, LACCD	2645621	2834197	7.1	69939	42715	-38.9	26.8	36.3
Total	3593147	3827433	6.5	151496	116366	-23.2	25.8	43.5

Sources: Southern California Association of Governments (SCAG), "Forecast Data" (computer printout), June 7, 1985; and Department of Finance, Total and Full-Time Enrollment, California Institutions of Higher Education, 1975-1987.

One of the factors the table presents is comparative population size. The LACCD areas have a much greater total population than their neighboring counterparts; the ratio is about 3:1. In addition, projected population growth is slightly higher in LACCD than in neighboring areas. Nevertheless, three of the four neighboring colleges had higher enrollments in both Fall 1980 and Fall 1985 than their LACCD

counterparts, and all four neighboring colleges had lower five-year enrollment declines. The drop in enrollment between 1980 and 1985 for all nine colleges was 23%, but the percentage loss of the four recipient colleges was only 10%, compared to 39% for the LACCD colleges.

Other factors influencing enrollment and population growth are differences in the characteristics of service area populations. LACCD residents tend to be younger and more often minority than those of neighboring districts. General trends show that college-going rates are much higher for young than older adults, and that whites and Asians attend more often than blacks or Hispanics. The lower birth rates and greater longevity in the dominant white population of neighboring districts have compounded the problem of their lower service area populations by further reducing the number of college-bound young adults. The "reservoir" of students in adjacent LACCD communities has made it possible for neighboring districts to maintain enrollment or at least curb enrollment loss.

While data on the interdistrict flow of students in the Los Angeles basin lacks historical depth, it is likely that the reservoir phenomenon has played a role for some time in the enrollment patterns of these nine colleges. All four neighboring colleges, but particularly Santa Monica and Glendale, have relatively small service areas with lower population density than the five LACCD areas. For LACCD residents close to the border, who share many common characteristics with those of a neighboring district, it is as convenient and perhaps more congruous to attend outside the LACCD service area than within it. Neighboring colleges have had other advantages; each is a well-established, fully developed campus with strong community identity; each has comprehensive programs and services. By comparison, programs in Los Angeles colleges have been reduced in recent years, and facilities at two of the five campuses remain incomplete. Neighboring colleges, pressing their advantage, have successfully competed for students residing in these five LACCD service areas, particularly those living near the borders. As we have seen, such outflow students are more often young, white and transfer-bound than LACCD students, although this distinction is lessening as ethnic diversity extends from the central to the peripheral areas of the basin. These changes in demographics will continue to influence enrollment and interdistrict flow, with demand elasticity most prominent in the LACCD border areas.

Estimated Costs of Outflow

The theoretical revenue losses to the Los Angeles District resulting from its very large outflow imbalance have been substantial. Costs rose from nearly $23 million in forfieted ADA reimbursement for the 1981-82 fiscal year to $45 million in FY 1987-88. These estimates ignore the ADA loss of presumed high summer school outflow, as well as greater costs required to serve outflow students; both of these analyses were beyond the scope of this study. Table 8 details losses from neighboring districts in weekly student contact hours (WSCH) for Fall 1981, Fall 1983, Fall 1985 and Fall 1987, from which annual WSCH figures were estimated and ADA/dollar amounts calculated.

TABLE 8: WSCH AND ADA FLOW BETWEEN LOS ANGELES COMMUNITY COLLEGE DISTRICT AND SURROUNDING DISTRICTS, CREDIT CLASSES ONLY, FALL 1981-FALL 1987

	Santa Monica	El Camino	Pasadena	Glendale	Rio Hondo	Ventura	Cerritos	Compton	Long Beach	Santa Clarita	Total Surrounding Districts
WSCH by LACCD Residents in Other Districts											
Fall 1981	89,524	34,289	14,816	21,682	2,869	1,960	6,129	1,015	6,061	4,777	183,122
Fall 1983	98,876	43,145	25,418	32,752	6,327	5,198	9,397	3,599	7,205	6,069	237,986
Fall 1985	123,580	60,798	45,787	39,761	14,116	8,840	9,331	4,669	5,877	5,970	318,729
Fall 1987	101,063	59,870	60,158	45,328	18,406	12,776	7,287	7,232	4,549	5,496	322,165
WSCH by Residents of Other Districts in LACCD Colleges											
Fall 1981	1,789	16,265	3,749	6,662	3,821	3,021	2,681	1,684	1,677	2,566	43,914
Fall 1983	2,429	19,861	4,649	5,432	3,967	4,869	1,878	2,494	2,814	3,238	51,631
Fall 1985	1,987	15,837	3,819	5,034	3,368	5,682	1,242	1,977	2,891	3,129	44,966
Fall 1987	2,272	14,770	3,512	5,250	3,355	8,242	1,288	2,879	2,349	3,570	47,487
Net WSCH Loss by LACCD											
Fall 1981	87,736	18,024	11,067	15,020	(952)	(1,061)	3,448	(669)	4,384	2,211	139,208
Fall 1983	96,447	23,284	20,769	27,320	2,360	329	7,519	1,105	4,391	2,831	186,355
Fall 1985	121,593	44,961	41,968	34,727	10,748	3,158	8,089	2,692	2,986	2,841	273,763
Fall 1987	98,791	45,100	56,646	40,078	15,051	4,534	5,999	4,353	2,200	1,926	274,678
Approximate Annual Net ADA Loss by LACCD											
1981-82	4,505	926	568	771	(49)	(54)	177	(34)	225	114	7,148
1983-84	4,953	1,196	1,067	1,403	121	17	386	57	225	145	9,570
1985-86	6,244	2,309	2,155	1,783	552	162	415	138	153	146	14,058
1987-88	5,073	2,316	2,909	2,058	773	233	308	224	113	99	14,105
Approximate Annual Net Dollar Loss by LACCD (in millions) at 1987 ADA Reimbursement Rates											
1981-82	$14.37	$2.95	$1.81	$2.46	($0.16)	($0.17)	$0.56	($0.11)	$0.72	$0.36	$22.80
1983-84	$15.80	$3.81	$3.40	$4.48	$0.39	$0.05	$1.23	$0.18	$0.72	$0.46	$30.53
1985-86	$19.92	$7.37	$6.87	$5.69	$1.76	$0.52	$1.33	$0.44	$0.49	$0.47	$44.85
1987-88	$16.18	$7.39	$9.28	$6.57	$2.47	$0.74	$0.98	$0.71	$0.36	$0.32	$45.00

Sources: LACCD, Business Services Division, Data Processing Branch, WSCH by Subject Printouts D-4600-001, Fall 1981-Fall 1987.

Fall 1981 figures for WSCH in LACCD colleges are interpolations between Fall 1980 and Fall 1982 (not shown). Figures for El Camino in 1981 and Long Beach in 1985 have been estimated, due to data reporting problems.

Restricting outflow imbalance incurs other costs, such as enforcement, whose effectiveness is limited at best, and the political backlash that results from inhibited freedom of choice.

In recent years, districts with sharp enrollment losses have been granted stabilization funds on an annual basis. A more practical approach might be the development of policy options which would stabilize state general fund allocations to districts over multi-year periods of enrollment fluctuation. Such an approach would help districts in planning for new population constituencies and for program and facility development.

The greatest cost of free flow over the period of this study may have been the inability to plan for continuing program and facility development because of funding uncertainties. Not the least of these uncertainties has been the enrollment base, which has been repeatedly qualified by type of course

enrollment, fee and financial aid requirements, limitations on growth and free flow itself. The Los Angeles District's sharp 1981-1985 enrollment decline is an example of the combined effects of ADA funding, free flow, normal fluctuations in enrollment and the enrollment cap, with each year's enrollment dropping another notch in a mechanical rachet descent. Diminished ADA and state capital construction funding virtually precluded enrollment recovery through program, facility and marketing improvements. While some enrollment has been regained, principally through better marketing and programs for residents not formerly served, outflow has not abated nor is it apt to diminish soon.

The size of the pool of young adults who are prime college candidates will continue to decline for a few more years, and then will grow moderately through about the year 2005. But it is not likely to return to the peaks attained in the mid-seventies and early eighties. Although campus completion and facility improvement will remain grave concerns of Los Angeles colleges, areawide enrollment growth will be less dependent on campus capacity than on programs, equipment and facilities which meet new student and employer needs. Costs associated with equitable and competitive educational opportunity for all area residents will be increasingly programmatic and differential.

Other Policy and Planning Implications

Under the conditions of free flow, Los Angeles District colleges must compete with neighboring districts for students residing within as well as outside their service areas. Recent enrollment gains and slowed growth of outflow demonstrate that LACCD colleges can successfully compete, but more effort is needed.

Information provided in this report suggests that outflow enrollment in a neighboring college is most attractive to young, transfer-oriented students. Though outflow has by no means been exclusive to this group, holding its allegiance is critical for several reasons. If a young student's first enrollment is at a neighboring college, he or she is likely to continue there for all subsequent community college work, which may well spread over a period of several years. Also, young students usually enroll in more courses, generating more WSCH and ADA than older students. Finally, these young, full-time students contribute to the college's campus life and visibility in the community, making it easier to recruit additional students.

For colleges most affected by outflow, special effort in recruiting and holding the younger students may need to be made. Curricula, scheduling, marketing and particularly high school relations, may need to be examined for the impact these activities have on attracting the younger students.

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